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CATHOLICISM AND APAISM.

BY THE RIGHT REV. J. L. SPALDING, BISHOP OF PEORIA.

FACTS are stronger than arguments, and it is little better than a waste of words to reply to the charges which are now from many sides brought against Catholics here in the United States. From the earliest colonial period they have been here and have been loyal and devoted citizens. They have taken part in every phase of private and public life. They have mingled with those of other faiths, in the family, in the professions, in the trades, in commerce, in legislative assemblies, and on battlefields where the nation's fate has hung upon the issue. Like other men, they have had their weaknesses and their faults, but among these lack of love for America has had no place. They founded one of the thirteen colonies, and were the first in the New World, the first, indeed, in all the world, to make freedom of conscience an organic part of the constitution of the State. Their action marks an era in the progress of mankind. When the hour came to break the bond which united the colonies with England and which had become a fetter, none more generously than the Catholics hearkened to the trumpet call, and in the darkest days of the struggle Catholics from Europe mingled their blood on our battlefields with that of our fathers. If long tenure, if fidelity, if honorable deeds, have aught of efficacy, Catholics have the right to be here, nor has this right ever become forfeit by any act or attempt of the Catholic Church in America.

Whatever controversy there may be as to other times and lands, her course here has been one of honor, of light, of peace, of beneficence. She has devoted herself to works of religion and humanity. She has done and is doing more for education, for the orphan, the aged, the sick and the fallen, than any other church. She has never attempted to dictate to her adherents in civil mat-

ters, nor has she sought to control political parties; and if her followers are to a large extent Democrats rather than Republicans, this is not due to the influence or interference of priests and bishops, who seldom know or care to what political party the members of their congregations belong. Catholics, though generally Catholic only in name, have been and are busy, often too busy, with politics, especially with municipal politics; but this is a common right of all American citizens, and in centres where there are great numbers of Catholics, some of them inevitably will be found among the political schemers, and consequently will be more or less implicated in the hypocrisy, trickery, and fraud by which our whole political life is tainted. A bad Catholic is no better than any other bad man. He is not a Catholic in truth, but since the Catholic Church, whatever those who do not know her spirit may think, is patient, broad, and tolerant, she is slow to expel any one from the fold, loth to pluck up the cockle lest the wheat also be uprooted. The reckless greed of our great money getters has led them to induce thousands of the poorest and most ignorant laborers of Europe to come here to supplant more intelligent and consequently more costly workers. These people, many of whom are Catholics, neither understand our language nor have any right conception of our civil and political life, and when they are thrown out of work and brought to the verge of starvation, they sometimes listen to the appeals of Anarchists and resort to violence. The church is not responsible; her influence, on the contrary, is the only moral and civilizing force which is brought to bear on these poor people. Far from desiring this kind of immigration, the American bishops and priests would be glad to have it cease.

Towards our fellow-citizens who are not Catholics our behavior is and has been without reproach. We have never sought to excite prejudice against those who differ from us in religious faith: much less have we sought to persecute any man for conscience sake. No body of Catholics in America has ever fostered or in any way encouraged those who wriggle and batten in the filth and animalities of man, and who make a living by going from city to city to appeal to the prurient imaginations and corrupt hearts of the vulgar. If here and there these cowardly attacks have led to violence and riot, the employers of the men whose only argument is outrageous insult are responsible. The

Catholic pastors uniformly advise their flocks to keep away from these men and the places in which they hold their meetings. No body of Catholics, in this country, not under the ban of the church, have ever formed themselves into secret oath-bound societies, for good or evil ends. Our bishops and priests have no hidden policy, no deep laid schemes, of any kind. Our life is undisguised, our churches are open to all, our books may be had by every one, in our schools thousands of Protestants are thrown hourly into most intimate contact with our teachers : as servants and partners, as friends and relations, we are intermingled with the whole people. Whoever desires information about us has not far to seek. What then is the cause of the abuse which is heaped upon us, of the distrust of which we seem to be the objects ? Why has it been thought necessary to organize secret societies, which have spread rapidly throughout the country, to oppose and hurt us ?

These are far-reaching questions, and to answer them satisfactorily in brief space is difficult. At the root of all such outbreaks and movements there lies the traditional Protestant view of the Catholic Church, which, though it has long ceased to have any meaning for enlightened minds, still holds sway over those who are too busy or too ignorant to be able to react against inherited prejudice. They still believe that the Catholic Church is the Scarlet Woman and the Pope the Man of sin ; and that Catholics consequently are capable of any crime or baseness which it may occur to any one to impute to them. They believe that Jesuits are cunning hypocrites who are never happy unless they are doing mischief ; that nunneries are prisons, or worse ; that priests sell permission to commit sin and are ever ready to betray any country they may belong to at the dictate of the Pope. All this, together with whatever else of horrible a perverse or corrupt imagination may be able to conjure up concerning us, the true victims of the Protestant tradition are ready to believe ; and, though such retarded minds are become comparatively few, they are still numerous enough to form a nucleus around which may gather all those who, whether honestly or from motives of self-interest, are glad to enter upon an anti-Catholic crusade. The Orange societies constitute a centre of this kind for the Apaists. No more bitter, blind, or fanatical religious spirit exists than theirs. Its prejudice is unrelieved by a suspicion of doubt, its hatred is as gen-

vine as it is unreasoning and unrelenting, and, like a wind-fanned flame, it leaps forth with mad glee whenever there is an opportunity to do harm to Catholics. Here is a force ready at hand, in English-speaking countries, for those who wish to stir up religious strife. What are the causes which have led so many Americans who have no sympathy with Orangeism to form an alliance with the bigots of this sect for the purpose of persecuting Catholics? The rapid and vigorous growth of the Church in America has, I suppose, excited apprehensions of danger among those in whose minds its influence is associated with ignorance, superstition, and corruption. Our success, too, largely due to immigration, may have aroused jealousy as well as fear; and I am the more willing to believe this as I observe, on many sides, that the envious rivalry of Protestant denominations among themselves is a chief cause of their weakness. In thousands of villages where one church and one capable minister would find support, three or four congregations representing different sects are established, and they are all feeble. The result is discouragement and indifference. Among Catholics themselves, in the last few years, a certain spirit of boastfulness became, here and there, manifest. When as yet, leaving aside our accessions from Europe, our losses are greater than our gains, some of us began to proclaim that America was to be made Catholic at no distant day. Though these utterances were merely the expression of zeal, the outburst of a perfervid temper, they aroused unkind thoughts in many whose dislike of us is more genuine than their love of toleration. To make matters worse we began to quarrel among ourselves. National differences of thought, sentiment, and custom, which reach so far and go so deep, threatened to prove stronger than the harmonizing and constructive force of a common religious faith. It happened, as it nearly always does happen when the controversial spirit is let loose, that the real issue came to be not truth and justice, but victory. In the heat of conflict wild words were spoken and overbearing deeds were done. The reporters, who scent a scandal as vultures a carcass, rushed in, and the country was filled with sound and fury. The loyalty of German Catholics was called into question. They were accused of conspiring with a certain Cahensly, a citizen of Prussia, against the interests of this country. Cahensly himself was as powerless as he was unknown, and, if harm he could do, he could

do it only by influencing the Pope to do wrong ; and the Catholics who made such an outcry against Cahenslyism seemed really to dread lest the Pope should be induced to do a foolish or wicked thing. Their temper was controversial, but the bigots took them seriously. Intelligent people among us know the Pope would not if he could, could not if he would, hurt America ; but to multitudes the cry of danger from the Papists is as effective as Dalila's shout to Samson that the Philistines were upon him. The Faribault school compromise, leading as it did to discussions which attracted wide attention, was another cause of alarm. The incident itself was neither novel nor important, and it doubtless would have escaped public notice had not the impression been made that it was the starting of a scheme by which Catholics hoped to get their share of the school fund. It was, in fact, a local affair, as to which there was no preconcerted agreement among the bishops, the far greater number of whom thought such a compromise undesirable, unacceptable even from the Catholic point of view, and all that Rome could be induced to concede was that what had been done at Faribault might be tolerated. Word had gone forth, however, that Faribaultism was a cunningly devised scheme of the Jesuits, by which they expected, while getting financial support for their own schools, to undermine the common schools. The charge was as false as it was ridiculous, but when public suspicion is aroused assertion is as effective as proof.

The Faribault episode, in itself insignificant, became the occasion of sending a papal envoy here, and of establishing a permanent papal delegation in Washington, which, from whatever point it be considered, is an affair of grave moment. From the beginning the American bishops, whenever consulted, strongly opposed the founding of such an institution here. When the question was put to the archbishops at their meeting in New York, in the fall of 1892, it was their almost unanimous opinion that it would be unwise to appoint a delegate for this country, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that the bishops, had the matter been proposed to them, would have taken the same view. The question of a delegation is, of course, not a question of faith, or morals, or discipline, or rule, affecting the whole Church ; but one of ecclesiastical policy : and those whose knowledge of the country was most accurate and intimate

believed that the establishment of a papal delegation here would be bad policy.

Whether they have been justified by the event, so far as the internal affairs of the church are concerned, it is not necessary here to inquire; but that the Delegate has been and is a source of strength to the Apaists there can be no doubt. With us, as in the Protestant world generally, anti-Catholic prejudice is largely anti-papal prejudice; and when the organs of public opinion were filled with the sayings and doings of "the American Pope," who though a foreigner, with no intention of becoming a citizen, ignorant alike of our language and our traditions, was supposed to have supreme authority in the church in America, fresh fuel was thrown upon the fire of bigotry. The fact that his authority is ecclesiastical merely, and concerns Catholics, not as citizens, but as members of the church, is lost sight of by the multitudes who are persuaded that the papacy is a political power eager to extend its control wherever opportunity may offer. This feeling, which has existed among us from the beginning, led our first bishop, Carroll of Baltimore, who was beyond doubt a devoted churchman and a true patriot, to make an official declaration in 1797, on Washington's birthday, wherein he affirmed that the obedience we owed the Pope is "in things purely spiritual." And such has been our uniform belief and teaching, as whoever takes the trouble to read what those who have the best right to speak for us have written on this subject will see.

Various causes, more or less intimately related to our religious life, having conspired to produce an anti-Catholic outbreak, the movement received added force from sources apparently foreign to the matter. In the long continued struggle between employers and wage-earners, capitalists have come to look upon the labor unions as an obstacle to the successful management of their various businesses, and are therefore anxious to weaken or dissolve these associations. When the Orange spirit began to become more active, it naturally occurred to the managers of railways and other enterprises in which large numbers of men are employed, that religious fanaticism might be made use of to divide the laborers and undermine their unions. For this purpose, then, and not from any hatred of the Catholic religion, for corporations being soulless must be indifferent to religion, the Apaists were encouraged and gained much influence in some of our large

carrying and manufacturing concerns. It happened also that the greater number of these fanatics were Republicans, and they became a source of embarrassment to the party. It was impossible to ignore them, and, at first thought, the simplest thing to do seemed to be to connive at them. Very soon, however, they became so strong that connivance ceased to have a meaning, and then, not having the courage or the will to expel them, the party which freed the negro began to encourage the bigots who have gotten up a religious persecution and are striving to deprive Catholics of the rights of freemen. Many Democrats, too, whose hatred of the church is stronger than their love of liberty and fair play, have gone over to the Apaists.

From this brief statement of the causes which have led to the rise and favored the spread of the new knownothingism, I turn to consider some of the charges which the leaders of the crusade advance as a justification of their systematic attack upon American Catholics ; and as they are neither new nor true, the discussion of them must necessarily be somewhat uninteresting. There is, first of all, the time-honored objection of a divided and incompatible allegiance—the contention that Catholics, since they owe obedience to the Pope, cannot be loyal subjects of the state. The answer is obvious. Our obedience to the Pope is confined to the domain of religious faith, morals, and discipline ; and since the state, with us at least, claims no jurisdiction over such matters, there can be no question of conflict. We have, and none are more thankful for this than the Catholics, a separation of the Church from the State. If it be urged that to draw the line of demarcation is difficult, I reply that in the general course of things this difficulty presents itself hardly at all. That it may arise all confess, but it may arise just as easily for Protestants as for Catholics. All men in our age—and this is one of the most far reaching peculiarities of Christian civilization—hold a double allegiance, and are prepared, if needs be, to appeal from men to God, from laws to conscience, from authority to reason, from numbers to justice. “I will obey all the laws of my country faithfully,” says Ruskin, “so far as such laws or commands are consistent with what I suppose to be the law of God; and when they are not or seem in any wise to need change, I will oppose them loyally and deliberately, not with malicious, concealed, or disorderly violence.” The Pope has never attempted to interfere in the

civil or political affairs of this country, and were he to attempt to do so his action would be resented by the Catholics more quickly than by others. One reason why our representative men have always opposed the appointment of a papal delegate for the United States was their unwillingness to give our enemies even a pretext for accusing us, as citizens, of being under foreign influence. The Pope is our religious, not our civil or political, superior.

Deeds, more than words, prove, and have proven, both our patriotism and our Catholic faith, and there is no reason why we, more than others, should make protestation of our loyalty. To protest is half to confess, as to exhort is to reproach ; and to urge American Catholics to love their country, which is as dear to them as their heart's blood, is to imply that they fail in this high duty. Our record for patriotism is without blot or stain, and it is not necessary for us to hold the flag in our hands when we walk the streets, to wave it when we speak, to fan ourselves with it when we are warm, and to wrap it about us when we are cold. Let us hope, at least, that in speaking of it we shall never stoop to the vulgar slang of "Old Glory," which is only a lesser desecration than the shots which riddled it when it floated amid the battle's smoke upheld by heroic hands.

Another charge, which, like the brook with its senseless prattle, goes on forever, is that Catholics are foes of the common schools—as the amiable Episcopal Bishop of Albany puts it, that "they do not love the public school system nor the theory of universal education." Were it not that most men become the victims of oft-repeated assertion, it would be difficult to explain the continuance of this accusation, for our position on the question of education is at once simple and widely and authoritatively proclaimed. We believe that religion is an essential element of human nature, and, therefore, of right education ; and where it is possible to do so, we found and maintain schools, in which, along with other things, we teach also what we believe to be religion. Inasmuch as this is not done in the common schools, we find the system defective, but we do not condemn it ; for in a country such as ours no other system of state schools seems to be possible, and we are openly and without reservation in favor of free schools, and, consequently, in favor of a school tax. For my own part—and I think I express the Catholic view—I not only would not, had I the power, destroy

the public-school system, but would leave nothing undone to develop and perfect it. I believe in free schools, in universal education, and, wherever public opinion is sufficiently enlightened, in compulsory school attendance. The objections which the bishops of Wisconsin and of Illinois urged against the Bennet Law and the Edwards Law were based upon the fact that these laws were an infringement on the principle of freedom in matters of education. If here and there individuals have made efforts to get public moneys for parochial schools, the Catholic body is not to be held responsible for their acts.

The attempt to commit the Catholics of the nineteenth century here in America to all the deeds and utterances of those in the middle ages is futile. We do not hold that the Popes have never been in the wrong; nor are we bound, to quote Cardinal Newman, "to defend the policy or the acts of particular popes, whether before or after the great revolt from their authority in the sixteenth century." If the public law of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries permitted them to declare forfeit the authority of tyrannical princes and emperors, it does not follow that they are permitted to do this now. We are Catholics, but we are also men, and though the essential tenets of the faith are immutable we ourselves change with a changing world. We accept with frank sincerity, with cheerful acquiescence, the principles involved in the rule of the people by the people and for the people, and are content to abide the issue. Why, then, in a country in which all have agreed to make freedom of conscience and liberty of worship inalienable rights, in which it is a fundamental principle of public life and rule that no man shall suffer hurt because of his religious faith, is a secret oath-bound society, whose one great aim is to subvert this primary article of our political creed, suffered to exist and encouraged in its nefarious schemes? Why have hundreds of teachers been expelled from their places simply because they were Catholics? Do not Catholics like others pay the school tax? Is not every career open to talent? Why are men hired to go from town to town, not to discuss our doctrines and practices, but to insult, mock, vilify, and calumniate us? No American Catholic certainly can object to the free discussion of his religious beliefs; but abuse, lies, and forgeries, while they can have no tendency to advance the cause of truth, provoke to vio-

lence, and where there is liberty there should be protection from such wanton and malicious attacks. Let the fair-minded read any of the numerous Apaist newspapers which are sold on the streets of nearly all our cities and towns, and then ask themselves whether a cause which is upheld by such methods and defended with such weapons is not self-condemned. Their creed is a creed of spite and hatred. Their ways are secret and dark; their arguments are lies and forgeries, and their victims are generally women whose only crime is their intelligence and their religion. In the presence of all this, Bishop Doane, in the spirit of sweetness and light, asks us to take a more conciliatory tone. He would doubtless advise the lamb to conciliate the wolf, for which the only possible conciliation is the having the lamb in its maw. This outburst of anti-Catholic hatred will pass away, of course. The American people love justice and fair play; they live and let live; their very genius is goodwill to men. They are not bigots or fanatics, or persecutors, but in the meanwhile Apaism is hurtful to the best interests of the country, it diverts attention from the momentous problems which are pressing upon us, it separates friend from friend, it sows the seeds of suspicion and distrust, it makes innocent victims, and is doing all that it is possible to do to verify the saying of a well-known Englishman that the only civilized country in which it is less pleasant to live than in the United States is Russia.

But I must make an end. One of the disadvantages under which the magazine writer labors is that when he gets well into his subject, the editor, regardless of Macbeth's curse, is sure to be the first to cry, Hold, enough!

J. L. SPALDING.